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native word for moiety is ba-per-u, meaning the four subsections that belong to each moiety. It probably has reference to bapa (father), although the natives are unconscious of any such association.

The members of each moiety are supposed to speak different languages. The clans around Buckingham Bay, Arnhem Bay, Elcho Island and down the east coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria say they speak the Ko-par-ping-u language if they belong to the Yiritja moiety, and Djam-bar-ping-u if they are Dua. Actually, vocabularies gathered by the author show no difference between the two so-called languages. Language, however, is a native criterion—the final test—used to differentiate local groups. Even each clan is said to have a "language"; and some have a different dialect, but most within a given area speak the same one. The clans claim "languages" of their own by giving themselves linguistic names in addition to group names (see list, pages 39-51).

The people surrounding the Koparpingu and Djambarpingu area say their moieties have linguistic differences that are like Koparpingu and Djambarpingu, but do not consider themselves as being Koparpingu and Djambarpingu. There is considerable regional dialectic variation among the Murngin clans; the division, however, is not on the basis of moiety, but on that of groups of contiguous clan hordes belonging to the same tribe or to different tribes.

Everything in Murngin civilization is divided on this dual basis. There is nothing in the whole universe—plant, animal, mineral, star, man, or culture—that has not a place in one of the two categories. This division is as clear cut to a Murngin as heaven and hell to a mediaeval theologian, although of course never on the basis of good or bad. The allocation is made by an association that sometimes seems irrational to a European but is perfectly reasonable to the native mind. When one inquires into the underlying concept back of such seeming syncretisms, the reasoning is as justifiable, granted the premise, as for our own classifications.

To illustrate the principle: a red parrot is Dua because of his early association with the Dua creator women; red parrot feathers, one of the chief articles of decoration, are Dua because of this; baskets covered with red parrot feathers are Dua. The spear thrower is Dua, the sting-ray spear belongs to the same moiety, but the wooden spear is Yiritja. The shark belongs to the Dua moiety; the barrimundi is Yiritja, as is black duck.

The above association of objects may seem arbitrary and haphazard

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to the reader, but every article fits into an elaborate ideological system which finds its expression in myth and folklore. The white man is Yiritja, therefore all of his culture is Yiritja; so that if a tin can is thrown away at a mission station the native who captures this valued prize knows that it is Yiritja and has a convenient and workable category in which to place it. The white man is Yiritja because the Malay trader before him was Yiritja, and Malay and white man, to the native, are obviously alike.

The moiety division is a most fundamental category in the native mind. It divides the mother's people from the father's. Ego's mother's brother, his mother, and his wife are in the opposite moiety to him, for the descent is patrilineal, while his own father and father's sister are in his own moiety. Below will be found a list of the relatives who belong to each moiety.[16] We shall place ego in the Dua moiety in order to orientate the relatives to him.

Dua	Yiritja
marikmo (father's father and father's father's sister)	nati (mother's father)
bapa (father)	momo (father's mother)
mokul bapa (father's sister)	gawel (mother's brother)
wawa (older brother) (ego)	arndi (mother)
yukiyuko (younger brother)	galle (mother's brother's daughter [ego's wife] and mother's brother's son)
yeppa (sister)	waku (sister's son and daughter, and father's father's sister's son and daughter)
gatu (son and daughter)	dué (father's sister's son and daughter)
maraitcha (son's son and son's daughter)	natjiwalker (mother's mother's mother's brother's son)
mari (mother's mother's brother and mother's mother)	momelker (mother's mother's mother's brother's daughter)
marelker (mother's mother's brother's son)	dumungur (father's sister's daughter's daughter's son and daughter)
mokul rumeru (mother's mother's brother's daughter) (mother-in-law)	nati (mother's father)
gurrong (father's sister's daughter's son and daughter)	kaminyer (daughter's son and daughter)
kutara (sister's daughter's son and daughter)	

Incest rules are very rigid, sexual intercourse not being allowed between members of the same moiety. The rigidity of the taboo is illus-

[16] The kinship terms which are here divided into the two moieties are fully described in the next chapter.

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Chart XIV: Social Logic of Murngin Totemism

121 182 ●811 In triangle (a) the Wawilak ritual is found at the left-hand base of the triangle, the snake-swallowing-the-women symbol at the apex, and social organization at the right-hand basal corner. The line connecting the Wawilak ritual and social organization is both solid and broken. Certain ideas or meanings of the ritual, concretely expressed in song

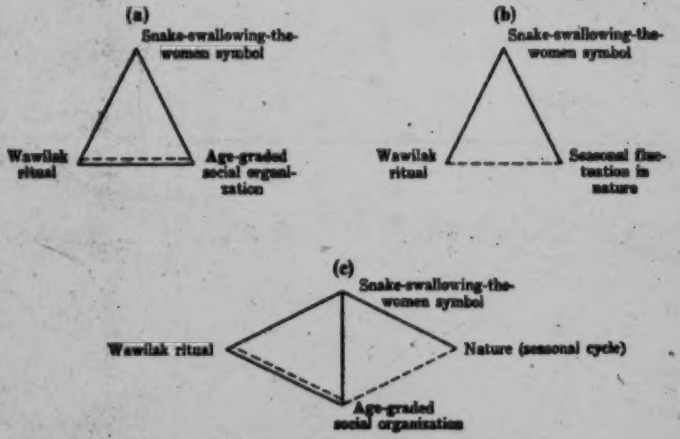

CHART XIV.—SOCIAL LOGIC OF MURNGIN TOTEMISM

and dance, relate the ritual to social organization; the meanings, however, are not to be found directly, but are expressed in the concepts of the myth. The social meanings expressed in the ritual are given symbolic form in the myth ideas.

It is felt that by manipulating the trumpet totem, one is manipulating the society (cleansing it), but the meaning of this societal cleansing can be apprehended only in the symbols and ideological relations found in the myth itself. There is also a real direct relation, inasmuch

121 solid line running from the apex to the right-hand base of the triangle. This, according to Ogden and Richards, illustrates the method of logical thinking; the process by which the words used and the things referred to are properly connected by thought.

The thing referred to and the words used are connected by a broken line running from the two sides to form the base of the triangle. The broken line indicates that frequently an illogical direct connection is made between the word used and its referent. The authors brilliantly demonstrate that this is a phenomenon found not only among the illiterate, but quite characteristic of the greater part of our theological philosophical thought.

Bronislaw Malinowski's article on Trobriand language further elaborates the Ogden and Richards method of analysis. (See Appendix to *Meaning of Meaning*.)

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as the thing to which the ritual refers (the male group) is directly participating in the ritual. However, when the male group is thought of as the snake symbol, the rest of the triangle is necessary to explain the thought processes.

In triangle (b) the relation of the Wawilak ritual to the seasonal fluctuation of nature is expressed. The Wawilak ritual is related by a solid line to the snake-swallowing-the-women symbol, as is the symbol to the seasonal alternation. The line connecting ritual and seasonal fluctuation is broken because the Murngin's assumption that they manipulate the variations of the weather is illogical. Triangle (b) hides the basic essentials of Murngin totemic thought because it expresses only part of the symbolism and abstracts this part from its social context.

Triangle (c) expresses the whole conceptual pattern. It combines (a) and (b) and analyzes their relations. The myth-symbol of the snake and women is directly related to both social organization and the weather or nature. Although the Murngin are aware of the connections that exist between the dry season of plenitude and the high degree of social euphoria and the rainy season of want and social dysphoria, their totemic thinking is not concerned with the empirical technological realities. The line from social organization to weather is broken to indicate that the Murngin assume a direct false causal relation between the good or bad behavior of society and the state of nature. If society, it is thought, can properly care for itself in a mundane as well as in a spiritual way, the fluctuation of nature can take care of itself likewise.

Society's technological adaptation to nature with its alternation of adaptive seasonal mechanisms is expressed in the weather symbols with all the feelings and meanings which are a part of this adaptive behavior. The social organization which also undergoes considerable periodic alteration is expressed by the snake-swallowing-the-women symbols. In reality the two aspects of society are being ritualized: the social relations of man to nature and of man to man. It is man's adjustment to nature and his relations to it which are important to totemism, rather than nature as an objective reality. The totemic design symbolizes the idea of the whole group in its intra-relations, and the concept of the group and its relation to nature. The purpose of the ceremonies is to control man's relations with the changes of nature; and the effect is to subordinate, for a time at least, smaller groups to larger integrations, to prevent open conflict, and to express

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121 182 811 the relations of the various internal groups (clan, age grades, moieties and subsections) to each other.

The totemic emblem itself is not an absolute necessity for the expression of the two fundamental meanings of the Wawilak snake-women symbol, since the rituals themselves can express the meanings by dance and song, by the symbolic movements of the body and the use of certain sacred words; but in Murngin religion the totemic design and the totem serve as unifying symbols for the remainder and give concreteness and definiteness to the other symbolic actions of the ceremonies.

The other myth-symbols of the Wawilak ritual configuration could be analyzed in the same way as the snake-swallowing-the-women concept, as well as the Narra, since the several parts of Chart XV could be broken down into the same logical arrangements as Chart XIV.

Chart XV: Nature and Social Organization in Their Relation to Totemism

It is now possible to generalize on the whole of Murngin ritual logic and explain at least some of its meanings. Central oblong 1 of Chart XV is the Wawilak symbol of the snake swallowing the women, or the Djunkgao myth-symbols. Rectangle 2 represents the dramatic rituals which are organically related to the two myths. This rectangle has been redivided to represent the various ritual units which make up the two myth constellations. Rectangle 3 is nature as a seasonal fluctuation or reproductive cycle, et cetera, and is symbolized by the respective myths. Rectangle 4 is the total Murngin group with its age-graded clans and moieties.

The solid lines lettered A, B, and C express the direct connection between the myth-symbols and the two referents, nature and social organization. The thing that is important to notice is that in the general thought there is a syncretistic association of social organization and nature through the connection of the myth and the symbols. The Murngin logic to this point is verifiable and grounded in reality, provided one grants them their choice of symbols and realizes that thus far there is no attempt to connect the two referents; but at this point we must turn to the broken arrow *a*. The Murngin in their logic of controlling nature assume that there is a direct connection between social units and different aspects of nature, and that the control of nature lies in the proper control and treatment of social organization. Properly to control the social organization, the rituals

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must also be held which rid society of its uncleanliness. The society is disciplined by threat of what will happen to nature, the provider, if the members of the group misbehave. This brings on an identification of the social organization with nature, and they are treated as one and expressed as such in the rituals. It can be seen that if one can manip-

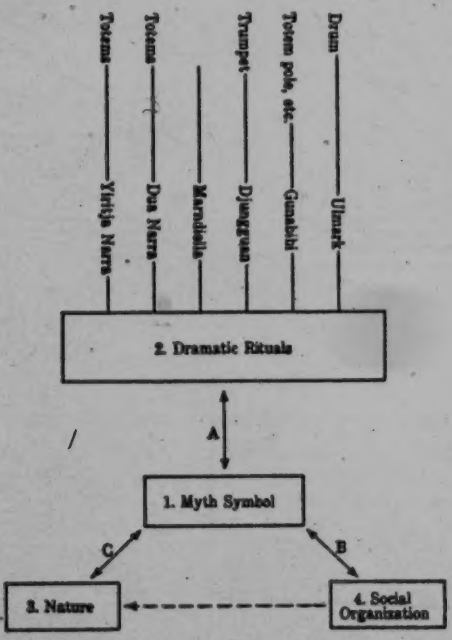

CHART XV.—NATURE AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN THEIR RELATION TO TOTEMISM

ulate the various totems such as the bull roarer, trumpet, and drum through the operation of the concepts of the myths, one cleanses society and by so doing forces nature to function properly. The ritual, then, from the totemic point of view, is a series of manipulations of the totem or the totemic symbols through the use of a set of symbolic actions woven into relationship by song, dance, and word expressions. The rituals relate various parts of the group to each other by use of larger symbols which incorporate smaller ones into configurations that form a unified whole.